

## Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-07 IO-13 ISO-00 AF-08 ARA-06

CIAE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NASA-01 NEA-10

NSAE-00 NSC-05 OIC-02 SP-02 PA-01 PRS-01 OES-06

SS-15 USIA-06 MC-02 /123 W

-----222133Z 043603 /67

R 221826Z MAR 77

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6131

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

USMISSION USUN NY

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ERDA HQ WASHDC

ERDA GERMANTOWN RHEGGTN

SECDEF WASHDC

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PARM, CCD

SUBJECT: CCD: ASSESSMENT OF THIRD ROUND OF INFORMAL MEETINGS ON

SOVIET PROPOSAL ON NEW MASS DESTRUCTION WEAPONS (MDW)

1. INFORMAL CCD MEETINGS WITH EXPERTS ON MDW WERE HELD MARCH 14 THROUGH 17, 1977. THIS WAS THE THIRD ROUND OF INFORMAL CCD MEETINGS ON THE SUBJECT, WITH ROUNDS ONE AND TWO HAVING BEEN HELD IN 1976.

2. MAIN CARRY-OVER PROBLEM FROM PRIOR MEETINGS WAS

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DOUBTS ABOUT UNDERSTANDINGS OF COVERAGE OF EXISTING AGREEMENTS,

PARTICULARLY BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS CONVENTION, THAT

HAD BEEN RAISED BY REPRESENTATIVES AND EXPERTS OF USSR

AND SEVERAL EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. A PRIME US

OBJECTIVE THIS SESSION WAS TO ACCOMPLISH SATISFACTORY

CLARIFICATION OF THIS MATTER. THAT WAS DONE, AND USSR AND

EASTERN EUROPEAN OFFENDERS MADE CLEAR AND EXPLICIT STATEMENTS

AFFIRMING SCOPE OF COVERAGE OF BW CONVENTION AND A PROSPECTIVE  
CW CONVENTION.

3. OBJECTIVE TAKEN UP BY US DELEGATION IN AUGUST 1976  
DISCUSSIONS WAS TO ENCOURAGE ACCEPTANCE OF 1948 UNITED NATIONS  
DEFINITION OF NDW AS WORKING BASIS FOR DISCUSSION. THIS EFFORT  
TOOK HOLD RATHER WELL THIS SESSION. WESTERN GROUP ENDORSED  
THIS APPROACH AND SPEAKERS FROM CANADA, FRG, ITALY, SWEDEN,  
UK EXPLICITLY ADVOCATED USE OF 1948 DEFINITION. MAIN PURPOSE  
OF THIS EFFORT HAS BEEN TO IMPOSE ON DISCUSSIONS THE  
COMPARABILITY STANDARD SET FORTH IN 1948 AS BASIS FOR IDENTIFY-  
ING ANY NEW CANDIDATE WEAPON TYPE AS A WEAPON OF MASS  
DESTRUCTION, I.E., THAT IT MUST "HAVE CHARACTERISTICS COMPARABLE  
IN DESTRUCTIVE EFFECT TO THOSE OF ATOMIC EXPLOSIVE WEAPONS,  
RADIOACTIVE MATERIAL WEAPONS, LETHAL CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL  
WEAPONS". THIS COMPARABILITY STANDARD SETS A REASONABLE  
BASIS FOR REJECTING SOVIET SUGGESTIONS THAT A MIXED BAG OF  
WEAPON POSSIBILITIES BE ANOINTED AS WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION.  
COUNTRIES MENTIONED ABOVE WHO NOW ADVOCATE USE OF 1948  
DEFINITION ALSO EXPLICITLY REJECT THE MDW-CANDIDATE WEAPON  
POSSIBILITIES PROPOSED BY USSR ON THE SPECIFIC GROUNDS OF  
NON-COMPARABILITY WITH RECOGNIZED MDW CATEGORIES. USSR  
STATEMENTS HAVE ENDORSED THIS COMPARABILITY STANDARD,  
INCLUDING PREPARED STATEMENT DELIVERED BY AMBASSADOR  
LIKHTACHEV; HOWEVER, THEY NOW CLAIM COMPARABILITY FOR THEIR  
MDW-CANDIDATE SYSTEMS (SEE PARA 6 BELOW).

4. SOVIET REAFFIRMATION OF SCOPE OF COVERAGE OF EXISTING  
AGREEMENTS, ESPECIALLY BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS CONVENTION, HAS  
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HAD THE EFFECT OF REMOVING FROM THE DISCUSSION A LARGE  
CHUNK OF THE MORE BIZARRE SUBJECT MATTER THAT FIGURED  
HEAVILY IN THE SESSION OF AUGUST 1976. ACCORDINGLY, THIS  
TIME, THERE WAS VERY MUCH LESS RHETORIC ABOUT CAUSING  
PSYCHIC DISORDERS AND STRIKING AT GONADS. THE COSMIC RANGE  
OF MDW POSSIBILITIES BASED ON ALL OF PHYSICS SUGGESTED IN  
EARLY SOVIET PRESENTATIONS ALSO SHRIVELLED UP ON AFFIRMATION  
OF THE COVERAGE OF THE ENMOD CONVENTION. THE SET OF PROPOSED  
NEW MDW-CANDIDATE SYSTEMS WAS REDUCED BY USSR THIS TIME TO  
FIVE MORE-OR-LESS SPECIFIC TYPES. DISCUSSED IN PARAS 6  
THROUGH 9 BELOW. THE PROBLEM OF DOUBTS BEING RAISED ABOUT  
COVERAGE OF EXISTING OR PROSPECTIVE AGREEMENTS HAS NOT YET,  
HOWEVER, BEEN ENTIRELY PUT DOWN -- SEE PARA 11 BELOW.

5. PREVIOUS SOVIET PRESENTATION INCLUDED ELABORATE TEXTS  
ON DEFINITION OF NDW WHICH WERE NOT ONLY COMPLEX AND  
CONVOLUTED BUT ALSO WOULD SUPPORT CHARACTERIZING VIRTUALLY  
ANYTHING (INCLUDING THE JAW-BONE OF AN ASS) AS A WEAPON OF  
MASS DESTRUCTION. THEY DID NOT PURSUE THIS LINE FURTHER

THIS SESSION. ALSO, DURING THE LAST MEETING ( MARCH 17),R  
SOVIET EXPERT IN A PREPARED STATEMENT SAID THAT PRIOR TEXTS  
AND STATEMENTS ON DEFINITION HAD BEEN PUT FORWARD ONLY TO  
ASSIST DISCUSSION AND WAS NOT INTENDED TO BE DEVELOPED INTO  
"JURICAL LANGUAGE" FOR AN AGREEMENT. ALSO ON MARCH 17,  
INDIAN REP TOOK NOTE OF USSR SEEMING ENDORSEMENT OF  
COMPARABILITY STANDARD IN 1948 DEFINITION BUT POINTED OUT  
THAT USSR HAD VOTED AGAINST THE UN RESOLUTION THAT PROMULGATED  
THAT DEFINITION. HE ASKED WHAT PRESENT USSR POSITION WAS  
ON THIS MATTER.LIKHATCHEV DID NOT REPLY.

6. AS MATTERS NOW STAND, USSR PROPOSES: -. THAT THERE BE  
A TREATY BANNING ALL NEW TYPES AND STSTEMS OF MDW, AND B. THAT  
THE FLOWING CLAIMED NEW TYPES OF SYSTEMS BE INCLUDED IN THAT  
BAN:.

A. SYSTEMS THAT GENERATE AND PROPAGATE LOW-FREQUENCY  
ACOUSTIC WAVES (INFRA-SOUND) TO KILL, INJURE OR DISTURB HUMAN  
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BEINGS AND DAMAGE BUILDINGS, ETC.

B. SYSTEMS THAT GENERATE AND PROPAGATE REAIO-FREQUENCY  
WAVES (INCLUDING MICROWAVE REDIATION) TO KILL, INJURE  
OR DISTURB HUMAN BEINGS.

C. FUEL/AIR EXPLOSIVES.

D. NUCLEAR WEAPONS BASED ON FISSIONABLE ELEMENTS  
ATOMICALLY HEAVIER THAT URANIUM 235 AND PLUTONIUM 239

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E. USE, FOR DELIVERY OF MDW TO TARGETS ON THE SURFACE OF THE EARTH, OF "AEROSPACE" VEHICLES HAVING CHARACTERISTICS COMBINING THOSE OF AIRCRAFT AND SPACECRAFT OR BALLISTIC MISSILES, E.G. SPACE SHUTTLE.

7. STATEMENTS BY SPEAKERS FOR US (AND OTHERS, CONCERNING THE FIRST FOUR) OF THE FIVE MDW CANDIDATES ABOVE, SAID ESSENTIALLY THE FOLLOWING:

-- A B AND C ARE NOT MDW AND DO NOT COME CLOSE TO SATISFYING THE COMPARABILITY STANDARD OF THE 1948 DEFINITION. CONCERNING C, IT WAS ALSO POINTED OUT THAT FUEL/AIR LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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EXPLOSIVES ARE EXPLICITLY IDENTIFIED AS CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS IN LAWS-OF-WAR DELIBERATIONS.

D WOULD, IF REALIZED, BE NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND SHOULD BE GOVERNED ACCORDINGLY.

E. IS A DELIVERY -SYSTEM, AND THEREFORE COULD APPROPRIATELY BE RAISED IN OTHER FORUMS DEALING WITH SUCH QUESTIONS (INTENDING INDIRECTLY TO CONVEY THE SUGGESTION THAT THIS IS AN ISSUE WHICH SHOULD BE ADDRESSED, IF AT ALL, IN SALT). SEE PARA 10 BELOW CONCERNING OTHER ASPECTS OF THIS ITEM.

8. SOVIET EXPERT REPLIED TO POINTS IN PARA 7, ABOVE, AS A B AND C ARE MDW; HE HAD EXPLAINED WHY; THOSE WHO DENY IT HAVE NOT EXPLAINED THEIR VIEW.

D. SHOULD BE PLACED UNDER A SEPARATE BAN, NOT SUBJECTED TO THE SMAE AGREEMENTS THAT NOW EXIST OR MAY BE DEVELOPED COVERING NUCLEAR WEAPONS GENERALLY.

E. SHOULD BE SUBJECT TO A BAN DEVELOPED IN CCD, NOT DEALT WITH IN SOME OTHER FORUM CONCERNING DELIVERY VEHICLES.

9. SOVIET EXPERT, WITH SOME SUPPORT FROM THE POLISH EXPERT CONCERNING INFRA-SOUND, CLAIMED SYSTEMS A, B, AND C ABOVE COULD HAVE DESTRUCTIVE EFFECTS COMPARABLE TO THOSE OF

CURRENTLY-RECOGNIZED MDW BUT DID NOT SUPPORT THIS CLAIM  
BEYOND SAYING, IN ESSENCE, THAT THEY CAN KILL PEOPLE.

10. IN DISCUSSING "AEROSPACE" VEHICLES AS A CLASS, OF WHICH  
SPACE SHUTTLE IS THE CURRENT ACTUAL MEMBER OF THAT CLASS,  
SOVIET EXPERT STATED THAT IT COULD BE USED TO: A. PLACE MDW  
IN ORBIT, OR B. DELIVER MDW TO SURFACE TARGET. WHEN IT WAS  
POINTED OUT THAT A. IS KIND OF USJBECT APPROPRIATE TO OTHER FORUMS  
CONCERNED WITH DELIVERY VEHICLES, AND ARGUED SPECIFICALLY  
FOR DEVELOPMENT OF A BAN IN CCD. HUNGARIAN EXPERT (ESS  
GENEVA 2129) PURSUED SUBJECT FURTHER. HE ARGUED THAT SPACE  
SHUTTLE, AS AN AERODYNAMIC VEHICLE, CAN OPERATE IN ALTITUDE  
RANGE FROM 30/40 KILOMETERS TO ABOUT 160 KILOMETERS WITHOUT  
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EXECUTING ORBITAL FLIGHT. THIS MODE OF OPERATION OF AN MDW  
CARRIER, HE SIAD (PROBABLY RIGHTLY), WOULD NOT BE PROHIBITED  
BY OUTER SPACE TREATY. HE THEN WENT ON TO ARUGE THAT AIR  
DEFENSES CANNOT HANDLE THIS FLIGHT REGIME AND THAT AMB  
DEFENSES WERE LIMITED BY ABM TREATY: THEREFORE, A NEW KIND  
OF DEFENSE WOULD NEED TO BE SOUGHT, TOUCHING OFF A NEW ARMS  
RACE. REFERENCE TO ABM TREATY IN THIS CONTEXT IS  
AMBIGUOUS AT BEST. LITERAL DEVELOPMENT OF DEFENSE SYSTEM  
TO BE EFFECTIVE AGAINST SPACE SHUTTLE AT ALTITUDES UP TO  
160 KILOMETERS PROBABLY WOULD BE VERY MESSY WITH RESPECT  
TO ABM TREATY.

1. GDR EXPERT PICKED UP A LINE THAT HAD BEEN OPENED BY  
USSR IN AUGUST 1976 SESSION. HE TALKED AT SOME LENGTH  
ABOUT "COMBINATION" WEAPONS IN WHICH A CHEMICAL OR BIOLOGICAL  
AGENT WOULD BY ITSELF HAVE A MILD EFFECT, UBT WOULD SENSITIZE  
THE ORGANISM TO REACT ADVERSELY TO PHYSICAL STIMULI (E.G.  
LOUDNOISES, FLASHING LIGHTS) WITH PERHAPS LETHAL EFFECT.  
SUCH WEAPONS, HE SAID, WOULD CONSTITUTE A NEW MDW AND WOULD  
NOT COME WITHIN THE COVERAGE OF THE BW CONVENTION OF A CW  
CONVENTION. HIS NET CONSLUSION IS THAT AGREEMENTS COVERING  
INDIVIDUAL TYPES OF EEAPONS (E.G., CHEMICAL OR BIOLOGICAL)  
ARE NOT ENOUGH, AND AN UMBRELLA LIKE THAT PROPOSED BY USSR  
IS NEEDED. THIS IS A SORT OF VIGOROUS EXTENSION OF THE  
QUESTIONS REISED BEFORE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE BIOLOGICAL  
WEAPONS CONVENTION AS TO WHETHER SUCH A SINGLE-TYPE AGREEMENT  
MIGHT WEAKEN THE GENEVA PROTOCOL OF 1925. IT IS NOT CLEAR  
WHETHER THIS IS A SERIOUS CONCEPTUAL PROBLEM OR JUST ANOTHER  
INDICATOR OF NEED FOR CAREFUL DRAFTING OF -- FOR EXAMPLE --  
A NEW CW AGREEMENT.

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12. BULGARIAN EXPERT SPOKE ON RADIOLOGICAL WEAPONS AND  
ADVOCATED THEIR PROHIBITION WITHIN FRAMEWORK OF SIVIET MDW  
PRPOOSAL. INDIAN REP ASKED WHAT US POSITION WAS ON  
RW IN CONTEXT OF MDW. US REP STATED THAT, ON BASIS OF  
1948 DEFINITION, REDILOGICAL WEAPONS ARE WEAPONS OF MASS  
DESTRUCTION. HE FURTHER SAID THAT CCD MAY WISH TO TAKE UP  
SUBJECT OF RW AGINN AT A TIME CONSISTENT WITH CCD PRIORITIES.  
POLISH EXPERT, IN A BURST OF CREAPIVITY, SUGGESTED THAT MEANING  
OF TERM RADIOLOGICAL WEAPONS BE EXTENDED TO INCLUDE ACOUSTIC  
WAVES. FORTUNATELY, 1948 DEFINITION REFERS TO REDILOGICAL  
WEAPONS BY USE OF TERM "RADIOACTIVE MATERIALS  
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WEAPONS" WHICH IS NOT AMENABLE TO BEING CONSTRUED, EVEN FROM  
A VERY LIBERAL STANDPOINT, AS INCLUDING ACOUSTIC WAVES.

13. IN STATEMENT ON AUGUST 12,1976, (GENEVA 6524 OF

AGU 13,1976) IN ARGUING PROBABLE NEED FOR APPROACHING ANY AGREEMENTS ON NEW TYPES OF SYSTEMS ON A CASE-BY-CASE BASIS, US EXPERT MENTIONED NEED TO DEAL APPROPRIATELY WITH VERIFICATION IN MDW DISCUSSIONS. US DEL HAS REFRAINED FROM ANY FURTHER REFERENCE TO VERIFICATION IN ORDER TO AVOID GIVING ANY IMPLICATION THAT SOVIET PROPOSAL IS OTHERWISE ACCEPTABLE. FURTHER, EXERCISING SUBJECT OF VERIFICATION IN THE ABSTRACT COULD ONLY HAVE IRRITATED SOVIETS ANYWAY.

14. IN STATEMENTS IN AUGUST 1976 AND EARLIER, SOVIETS REFERRED -- WITH NO SPECIAL EMPHASIS -- TO DESIRABILITY OF REVIEW OF SCIENTIFIC LITERATURE TO SEEK OUT AT INCIPIENT STAGE POTENTIALITIES FOR NEW MDW. THIS NOTION LAY DORMANT UNTIL DISCUSSIONS THIS TIME, WHEN IT WAS SET IN MOTION -- WITHOUT PRIOR MENTION TO US OR WESTERN GROUP -- BY UK EXPERT (GARNETT) IN HIS FIRST STATEMENT. HIS WARM REFERENCE TO SUCH A SCHEME SEEMED TO APPEAL TO CANADIAN REPRESENTATIVE AND (PERHAPS ONLY INITIALLY). TRADELEGATION. SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSION IN WESTERN GROUP (GENEVA 2095), WITH HELP OF CANADIAN AND NETHERLANDS EXPERTS, SUBSTANTIALLY LOWERED ZEAL FOR INTERNATIONAL LITERATURE REVIEW ARRANGEMENT, BUT DID NOT ENTIRELY SET IT ASIDE. US EXPERT AGREED TO, AND DID, INCLUDE IN STATEMENT REMARKS ABOUT NEED FOR VIGILANCE WITH RESPECT TO EMERGENT MDW POSSIBILITIES AND AT SOME DISTANCE IN STATEMENT, ALSO MENTIONED AVAILABILITY OF SCIENTIFIC LITERATURE AS A HELP IN PERCEIVING WHAT MAY BE IN PROSPECT. IN RECIPROCATION, UK AND CANADIAN SPECKERS ALTHOUGH PRIVATELY STILL EXPRESSING A BENT IN THAT DIRECTION, REFRAINED FROM ADVOCACY OF ANY SPECIFIC CCD ACTION (E.G., ESTABLISHMENT OF EXPERTS GROUP TO REVIEW PERIODICALLY SCIENTIFIC LITERATURE FOR SIGNS OF MDW POTENTIALITIES). IN WESTERN GROUP (AND PERHAPS MORE WIDELY) THERE WAS A VIEW THAT USSR SHOULD LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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BE OFFERED SOME "WAY OUT" OF THEIR POSITION ON MDW AND THAT WAY OUT SHOULD INVOLVE REALIZATION OF SOMETHING SPECIFIC AND/OR FORMAL IN CCD. THAT VIEW WAS ALMOST SURELY PART OF BASIS FOR EXPRESSIONS FROM CANADA, NETHERLANDS AND UK SUMMARIZED ABOVE, AND OF OTHER COUNTRIES NET OUTCOME OF LAST WESTERN GROUP MEETING WAS TO DECIDE TO WAIT AND SEE WHAT IS DONE NEXT BY USSR RATHER THAN TRY TO FEND OFF USSR ADVOCACY OF NEW MDW TREATY BY OFFERING THEM INSTEAD A CCD ARRANGEMENT OF PERIODIC REVIEW OF SCIENTIFIC LITERATURE. AS OF NOW, THE "WAIT AND SEE" VIEW HAS PREVAILED AND NO "WAY OUT" HAS BEEN SUGGESTED TO USSR.

15. NO SUGGESTIONS WERE MADE FOR FURTHER ROUNDS ON THIS SUBJECT; HOWEVER, INDIAN REP SAID HE SAW A NEED FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION. USSR REP SAID HE WOULD HAVE MORE TO SAY LATER.

16. THIS TIME, THERE WERE NO US/USSR BILATERAL MEETINGS  
AND NONE WERE PROPOSED.

17. AS OF THE END OF THIS FOUND STATUS IS AS FOLLOWS:

A. USSR STILL ADVOCATES THEIR PROPOSAL;  
B. THE WESTERN GROUP WOULD LIKE TO SEE THE SUBJECT GO  
AWAY BUT DOUBT THAT IT WILL;  
C. EASTERN EUROPEANS ARE DOING WHAT IS EXPECTED OF THEM;  
D. INDIA AND A FEW OTHERS SAY THEY LIKE THE SOVIET PROPOSAL;  
E. OTHER CCD PARTICIPANTS HAVE REMAINED SILENT;  
F. DEFINITIONAL SUBJECT HAS ARRIVED AT A STAGE WHERE THERE  
IS FAIRLY WIDE SUPPORT (COMPLETE IN WESTERN GROUP) FOR  
CARRYING ON WITH THE 1948 UN DEFINITION OF MDW. SOVIETS HAVE  
STAYED SILENT ON THIS, BUT HAVE UTILIZED PRINCIPLE OF  
COMPARABILITY CONTAINED IN ABOVE DEFINITION.  
G. FINALLY, ATTRITION IMPOSED ON USSR PROPOSAL HAD EFFECTIVELY  
REDUCED THEM TO ARGUING WHAT THEY STARTED OUT WITH, I.E.,  
THAT THE FUTURE IS UNCERTAIN AND THAT THE "BAD" PARTS  
OF THAT FUTURE SHOULD BE PROHIBITED IN ADVANCE IN GENERAL  
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TERMS. THEIR ATTEMPTS TO BE SPECIFIC AS TO DEFINITIONS OR  
EXAMPLES OF NEW MDW HAVE NOT FLOURISHED.

18. IN EARLY STAGES LAST YEAR SOME DELEGATIONS CAME TO THE  
TABLE WITH AN OPTIMISTIC VIEW THAT SOVIET PROPOSAL WAS A  
PROMISING START ON DEVELOPMENT OF LIMITATIONS ON COMPETITION  
IN QUALITATIVE ARMS ADVANCEMENT; HOWEVER, THE ABSURD  
CHARACTER OF SO MUCH OF WHAT SOVIETS HAVE DONE IN "CLARIFYING"  
THEIR PROPOSAL HAS DISCOURAGED MUCH OF THE ORIGINAL OPTIMISM.  
THIS POINT WAS WELL STATED BY SWEDISH SPOKESMAN IN AUGUST  
1976 AND QUALITY OF SOVIET PERFORMANCE HAS NOT IMPROVED.  
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